

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJ: CSCE: POSITIONS OF ALLIES--PART 13-GREECE

1. IN RESPONSE TO DEPARTMENT'S REQUEST, WE TRANSMIT BELOW OUR CURRENT ESTIMATE OF PARTICULAR CONCERNS WHICH GREECE HAS IN CSCE. WE HAVE NOT REPEAT NOT ATTEMPTED TO ELABORATE ON SUBJECTS WHICH ARE OF GENRAL CONCERN TO ALL OR MOST NATO ALLIES, AND OF WHICH THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE.

2. GREECE, CSCE, AND CYPRUS-THE RECENT EVENTS IN CYPRUS HAVE OVERSHADOWED OTHER GREEK CONSIDERATIONS IN CSCE, AND HAVE LED THE GREEK DELEGATION HERE TO WEIGHT VIRTUALLY EVERY ASPECT OF CSCE IN TERMS OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION. THIS HAS ALREADY CAUSED SOME DELAYS IN CONFERENCE PROGRESS, AND WILL UNDBOUTEDLY CONTINUE TO DO SO. ADDITIONALLY, GREEKS HAVE MADE SEVERAL SHARP INTERVENTIONS HERE, ACCUSING TURKEY OF VIOLATING THE PRECEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT AND MUTAUAL CONFIDENCE WHICH MADE CSCE POSSIBLE. IF PUSHED TOO HARD IN THIS DIRECTION, THE TURKS HAVE INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT THEY WILL QUESTION THE CREDEN-
TIALS OF THE CYPRIOT DELEGATION, THUS RAISING A

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COMPLEX AND UNPRECEDEDENTED PROCEDURAL ISSUE.

3. ALLIED CONSULTATIONS--PRIOR TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
THE GREEKS, LIKE OTHER NON-NINE NATION MEMBERS, FELT
SOMEWHAT LEFT OUT OF ALLIED CONSULTATION PROCESS IN
CSCE, SINCE FIRM EC-NINE POSITIONS ARE OFTEN AGREED
BEFORE PROBLEMS ARE DISCUSSED IN THE NATO
CAUCUS. THE TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS, AND THE
SUBSEQUENT GREEK DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NATO
MILITARY STRUCTURE, CHANGED ALL THAT. THE GREEK
DELEGATION HAS NOW ADOPTED A VERY LOW PROFILE WITHIN
THE NATO GROUP, AND ALMOST NEVER APPEARS AT CAUCUS
MEETINGS ON MILITARY SUBJECTS AND SOME OTHER CONFERENCE
TOPICS.

4. PRINCIPLES--

(A) GENERAL--GREECE SHARES GENERAL ALLIED GOALS
IN THE PRINCIPLES, BUT THEIR PARTICULAR INTEREST IN
THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES TO THE CYPRUS
SITUATION OUTWEIGHS WIDER CONCERNS. WHILE THE GREEK
DELEGATION HAS RECENTLY AVOIDED DIRECT MENTION OF
CYPRUS, THEY ARE CONSIDERING ALL THE PRINCIPLES--
THOSE WHICH HAVE PREVIOUSLY BEEN REGISTERED AS WELL
AS THOSE CURRENTLY BEING DRAFTER--IN THE LIGHT OF
CYPRUS DEVELOPMENTS. THUS IN CURRENT DISCUSSIONS
OF SELF-DETERMINATION PRINCIPLE GREEKS
INTEND TO INTRODUCE SOON LANGUAGE,
BASED ON UN FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION, WHICH
WOULD HAVE PARTICIPANTS REFRAIN FROM ENCOURAGING
DISMEMBERMENT OF OTHER STATES. DEPENDING UPON PRECISE
PHRASEOLOGY USED, TURKS MAY HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS
WITH THIS PROPOSAL.

(B) OPPOSITION TO DISCUSSION OF MINORITIES--
WHEN THE YUGOSLAVS SOME MONTHS AGO PRESENTED AN ELABORATE
PROPOSAL ON PROTECTION OF MINORITIES IN COMMITTEE I
THE GREEKS MADE STRONG BILATERAL DEMARCHE TO US
REPRESENTATIVES TO GAIN OUR SUPPORT IN OPPOSING THIS
PROPOSAL. THEY ARGUED THAT PROBLEM OF MINORITIES
SHOULD BE TREATED AS A CULTURAL QUESTION, AND THAT
TREATMENT AS A SECURITY ISSUE WAS MOST DANGEROUS.
SINCE THE YUGOSLAVS FELT EQUALLY STRONGLY ABOUT THE
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MATTER, WE DID NOT GET INVOLVED, AND CONFINED OURSELVES
TO ENCOURAGING BOTH PARTIES TO FIND A COMPROMISE
SOLUTION. A HEAVILY BRACKETTED SENTENCE ON MINORITIES
HAS NOW BEEN INCLUDED IN THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS,
AND PROVIDED IT IS EVENTUALLY AGREED IN A FORM THEY
FIND ACCEPTABLE, THIS MAY SATISFY YUGOSLAV DESIRES ON
THIS SUBJECT. HOWEVER, THEIR MINORITIES PROPOSAL IS
STILL ON THE TABLE AND THEY COULD RETURN TO IT AT

ANY TIME.

5. MILITARY ASPECTS--

(A) GENERAL--GREECE SHARES GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF
NATO ALLIES TO HAVE SOME MILITARY CONTENT IN
CSCE, INFORM OF MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT ON CBMS. HOWEVER,
THEY TEND TO SEE MILITARY SECURITY MORE IN TERMS OF
GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS THAN IN EAST-WEST CONTEXT.
THEY WOULD THUS LIKE TO SEE CBMS WHICH WOULD CONSTRAIN
TURKISH MILITARY FREEDOM OF ACTION WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS,
BUT WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON
THEIR OWN SECURITY.

(B) MOVEMENTS--LIKE OTHER ALLIES, GREEKS FAVOR
A CBM ON MOVEMENTS, BUT ARE RESIGNED THAT THIS IS NOT
POSSIBLE, AND HOPE WE CAN AGREE TO A COMPROMISE FORMULATION
TO COUNTER THE SOVIET PROPOSAL LINKING THE
MOVEMENTS ISSUE TO FOLLOW-UP.

(C) NATURE OF COMMITMENT--LIKE OTHER ALLIES,
GREEKS FAVOR UK FORMULATION FOR NATURE OF COMMITMENT
FOR CBMS ("HAVE DECIDED THAT THEY WILL").

(D) NO EXCEPTIONS ON AREA--GREEKS ARE OPPOSED
TO ANY TERRITORIAL EXCEPTIONS TO DEFINITION OF AREA
FOR APPLICATION OF CBMS, WHILE TURKS INSIST THAT ONLY
PART OF ANATOLIA SHOULD BE COVERED BY CBMS.

(E) SELF-RESTRAINT--GREECE FAVORS AN OPERATIVE
PROVISION CALLING FOR "SELF-RESTRAINT" IN MILITARY ACTIVITIES.

6 ECONOMICS--

(A) GENERAL--ANTI-TURK SLANT OF GREEK ATTITUDE
ELSEWHERE IN CSCE IS NOT EVIDENCED IN ECONOMIC AREA,
WHERE GREECE AND TURKEY, AS EUROPEAN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES,
HAVE CERTAIN COMMON INTERESTS.

(B) EUROPEAN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES--GREECE HAS
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SUPPORTED EFFORTS OF OTHER EUROPEAN LDC'S (INCLUDING
TURKEY, ROMANIA, PORTUGAL, SPAIN AND MALTA), TO GET
CSCE RECOGNITION OF THE CONCEPT OF "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
IN EUROPE". HOWEVER, THE GREEK DELEGATION HAS PLAYED
A LESS ACTIVE ROLE ON THIS QUESTION THAN OTHER
DELEGATIONS.

7. BASKET III--

(A) GENERAL--GREECE SHARES GENERAL ALLIED
OBJECTIVE OF OBTAINING SOME MEANINGFUL FREER MOVEMENT
PROVISIONS, PARTICULARLY UNDER HEADINGS OF FAMILY
REUNIFICATION, MARRIAGE, TRAVEL, AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION,
AND WORKING CONDITION FOR JOURNALISTS.

(B) CLANDESTINE RADIOS--GREEKS HAVE TRIED,
WITHOUT SUCCESS, TO RALLY SUPPORT FOR THEIR PROPOSAL

BANNING CLANDESTINE RADIO STATIONS. THIS PROPOSAL WAS TABLED WHEN THE MILITARY REGIME WAS STILL IN POWER AND MAY NO LONGER BE OF STRONG INTEREST TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO POSITIVE INDICATIONS THAT GREEKS WILL IN FACT DROP IT. IF THEY DO NOT, THIS COULD COMPLICATE DISCUSSION OF RADIO JAMMING.

8. MEDITERRANEAN--ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE NEVER WISHED TO RAISE MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES IN CSCE, THE GREKS HAVE FELT OBLIGED TO SUPPORT MEDITERRANEAN INITIATIVES WHEN PROPOSED, BECAUSE OF THEIR STATUS AS A MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRY. THUS THEY HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE INFORMAL MEDITERRANEAN CAUCUS, WHICH HAS HELD GROUP CONSULTATIONS WITH MEDITERRANEAN ARAB STATES REGARDING THE ROLE OF NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES IN CSCE. THEY CONTINUE TO SHOW AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN ISSUES WHICH RELATE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.

9. FOLLOW-UP--THE GREEKS HAVE PRIVATELY INDICATED A READINESS TO ACCEPT SOME FORM OF POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY.

10. THIRD STAGE--THE GREEKS, ALONG WIT THE CYPROTS, HAVE ANNOUNCED TO THE FULL CSCE THAT THEY WILL NOT ACCEPT THE RESULTS OF CSCE, AND WILL NOT ATTEND STAGE III, UNTIL THERE HAS BEEN CONCRETE PROGRESS TOWARD

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